1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

426 In addition to the above-described types of loans, there are also loans at interest for which normally no security is offered. These loans are usually made by persons within the village and rarely exceed $100 in amount. Interest is normally 10 percent per annum. In some cases it is stipulated that the debt is to be canceled upon the death of the debtor. In other instances the debt becomes a charge against [428] the estate of the debtor. If the possessions of the debtor at death are insufficient to pay the debt, it is not transmitted to his sons. However, according to Pedro Chávez, the sons probably would make every effort to pay such a debt because of the strongly held belief that a person [775] dying with debts cannot rest in peace until the debts are paid.

All transactions involving loans are in writing, although they are not registered at the *municipio*.

COSTS OF PRODUCTION AND INCOME

433 Some further insight into production prob-
434 lems may be gained by detailed studies of
128 specific activities. These data throw light upon the relative profitability of such activities and also provide information on income. Not all activities are covered in the ensuing discussion, nor are the data equally reliable in each category. Such activities as witchcraft or midwifery are not included; the labor factor in beekeeping or fruit growing is impossible to ascertain. An activity followed by only a few individuals merits less attention than one followed by many.

Not only is the treatment of topics uneven, but the income data are subject to misinterpretation. It must be emphasized that virtually no one in Cherán, except a few "rich" farmers or storekeepers, has only one occupation. Consequently, any effort to establish annual income on the basis of figures in this section would be grossly misleading. Finally, it should be noted that not all the activities discussed below are productive. Because of the problem of income, I have considered a number of "service" occupations in this section.

AGRICULTURE

243 *Maize.*—Data on farm production were diffi-
433 cult to obtain. On no other subject is there so
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755 a recently killed coyote have been placed just before the water reaches the boiling point.

Scorpion stings are treated by giving the 752 patient immediately a drink made by boiling 755 *casaguate* with salt. Another treatment is to give powder produced by rubbing two stones together. The powder is dissolved in water. The wound is also rubbed with lemon juice.

Rabies is treated by giving water in which [824] has been macerated a ball of the male ash tree (male and female trees are distinguished).

Sickly children are treated by bathing them 755 with turtle blood. After a sufficient number of fresh water turtles are collected, they are made to put out the head by putting coals on the shell. The neck is then severed with a single blow of a machete, and the turtle is suspended over the head of the child (who is standing naked) so the blood streams down from head to foot.

DEATH

Death is regarded as a normal event in 761 Cherán and mourning is restrained and, in the main, private. Somewhat more grief is shown when the deceased is a child or a person still vigorous. An old person, who has begun to [888] lose some of his vigor, is often spoken of as only half alive. Similarly, very small children are often regarded as not fully alive. For persons already regarded as not fully members of the community of the living, no great emotional response to death may be expected.

Ideas about death and afterlife are essentially 775 Catholic. Small children who die are believed to go directly to heaven, while adults must pass some time in purgatory. The dead are not particularly feared, nor is it believed that they ordinarily return. However, if a person dreams frequently of a dead relative it is believed that the deceased individual has returned for a member of his family and that one of the household will certainly die. There is no remedy for such a situation.

Because of the different beliefs regarding the 764 afterlife of children and adults, there are some differences in funerals for the two age groups.

In the case of a child, the godfather of baptism provides the burial dress, which is placed on the body by the godmother or the mother, or by the sisters of the mother. The body is not

773 539 "T'aɹésaĉa are the idols worshipped by ancestors, those who lived before the flood. They had no images [saints]; the t'aɹésaĉa were their saints. When God decided to end the world he told Adam and Eve . . . he believed but the others didn't . . ." [At this point in the story the flood occurs.]

Another short statement says:

". . . With the flood the k'uaŋári were extinguished. Don Antonio Siuangua [Jarácuaro's king] was a k'uaŋári. They didn't believe in religion [i.e., Catholicism]; that's why there was the flood. They danced naked and they had no fear of God. I think it was something like those sexy dances they say they have in Morelia or Mexico City where people dance stark naked."

In other stories the giants were destroyed when the world was blessed. Sometimes this is described as a destruction by fire. In some statements God himself came to bless the world and introduce Christianity. In others this task is ascribed to Jesus, Saint James or Saint Peter. In still others, the advent of Christianity was the work of a priest or of Vasco de Quiroga.

When the world was thus blessed, the giants buried themselves with their implements and they became stones, the idols and tools that now come to light when the land is tilled. The reason for their hiding lay in their old religion and failure to accept Christianity:

"They lived in error." "They buried themselves [because] persecuted by the Belief [i.e., Christianity]." "That happened to them because they didn't want to see the blessing of the world."

The more elaborate stories refer to the particular way in which the kings of the k'uaŋári in Jarácuaro and Ihuatzio fled from the Faith to become enchanted in different places. Those who accepted Christianity were saved and became the ancestors of the present people:

"Some people got the blessing from the priest [Don Vasco] while others died alone because of their ignorance. The former are in heaven now while the others are buried with their belongings."

775 The Tarascans firmly believe in man's survival after death. The basis for this belief lies in man's division into body and soul. The soul for the Tarascan resides in the heart, and the word heart (*minzíta*) stands also for soul; while the other words

775 (*ánima, uaríča, uaríri*) designate the soul after death and also the dead body, their meaning being like that of the English 'ghost' or 'dead'. The separation of body and soul is possible before death in certain situations.

753 828 Fright is one of the concepts of disease. When a person is frightened his soul is about to leave his body. "My heart [i.e., soul] goes out", he will say, and this is supposed to upset him a good deal. Total loss of one's soul is not very common. It is the result of the Devil's stealing the soul when a person becomes frightened at the sight of him. This loss causes insanity and almost immediate death, unless the person has his soul restored.

775 Also, the soul of a person who is about to die spends a period visiting all the places where he (she) has been and also his (her) relatives. The soul wanders while the person is asleep or feeling very tired. These souls can occasionally be seen by people, and experiences of seeing souls are very common items in folklore, especially in the Sierra where ghosts (*uaríča*) follow men, and by touching, blowing or spitting at them can cause sickness and death.

A very important concept of Tarascan folklore is that of selling one's soul to the Devil, who, in some cases, keeps the soul while the person is still alive. Also, the souls of persons otherwise doomed can be in hell before their death.

761 Death is caused by the final separation of body and soul. The body perishes while the soul goes on existing. The destiny of

775 773 the dead is explained in a creation story. The Devil, the cleverest son of God, decided that he did not like the sky as God had made it. So he made the sun, the moon and the stars, and also made another sky on top of it, where he resided. God asked him to return home, but the Devil refused. So God sent Saint James, who defeated the Devil and brought him to God.

539 "The Devil asked God for his inheritance and said he also wanted to have people to rule over, the same as God. Then God told him his inheritance was ready, and He ordered Saint James to take the Devil down below, pulling at his chain like an animal. There was a big round iron and a chair to tie him to so he couldn't escape. There the Devil told God he needed some people and God told him, 'Yes, I will give you some. Whom do you want?' And the Devil asked for those who drown in liquor, those who die in sin, those who kill people and

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539 those who die in the lake. God told him He wouldn't give him all those, because so many people die like that that there would be nobody left for Him. He would give him only those with great sin. They also agreed that they would weigh those who die in an accident, and if they were heavier than the Devil he would take them; if lighter, God would take them. And this is the agreement they had. All people who die in an accident have to be weighed to see to whom they fall."

773 775 Other stories and statements elaborate further this myth. Two concepts determine this destiny: a mechanical one, according to the circumstances of death and without moral meaning; and a second one wherein the future of the dead is a consequence—reward or punishment—of their behavior in the present world. This last concept prevails.

In what we call the mechanical concept, we include the idea that those who die in an accident (fall, run over by an automobile, etc.), or drown in the lake, go to hell, or have to be weighed in order to determine their destiny. Other ways of meeting death can determine automatically the destiny of the dead person: *e.g.*, death in fights or as result of drunkenness. In this case, however, a moral factor is involved, in that drunkenness and fighting are considered bad or sinful. Similarly, children automatically go to heaven and become little angels. The reason is that they die before they are old enough to commit sin. As one informant puts it: "They don't say *disparates* [obscene, sinful words; swearing] and they have no sins."

As a general rule, however, the destiny of the dead is determined by their good or bad behavior in this world. A balance has to be drawn between a person's good and bad actions to see if his next abode is heaven or hell. A typical statement follows:

[539] "Those who drown are doomed, and also those who die in drunkenness. Those who kill a person are doomed, and the priests do not allow them to confess, except when they take charge of the dead person's children and dress them and look after them as their own father would. Those dead 'in vice' are doomed, too."

The idea of purgatory is not common in folk stories and belief, although of course it is taught in church.

[539] "Dead children go to heaven until the age when they learn to swear; they have no sins.

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[539] Grownups, people say some of them go to heaven, but who knows; it is necessary to go through punishment first."

In their journeys to their abode, the dead are brought before God and/or the saints for a sort of judgment which decides their destiny. A few beliefs relate to this judgment before God, and emphasize 'good' behavior toward the fireplace and towards dogs. One should not spit or kick the firestones, because at the hour of death they will go to God and complain about this bad treatment. One reason given [778] is that the hearthstones represent the Holy Cross. Similarly, one should not throw hot water to the ground. The earth will complain to God and say, "This one [825] burned me." A black dog will also complain if badly treated. On the other hand, [735] if one gives alms to beggars, they will speak favorably to God.

Other beliefs concern activities which, if not properly followed on earth, must be carried out after death before eternal rest is granted. Thus the hospital cargueros who do not properly participate in the week-end processions in the churchyard have to do so after death. Penitents who do not carry the heavy cross as they promised similarly have to do this after death. When a child has been baptized, [788] to become *compadres* the parents and godparents must go to the church and perform a ritualized salutation. One does not really become compadre until this has been performed. If one does not make this salutation with one's children's godparents, the soul will have to travel and meet the souls of the compadres-to-be, wherever they are, in order to perform it. Only then will the soul be free to go to its destination. Similarly, taking ashes from the hearth and treating the children well, feeding, washing, and dressing them properly, are sanctioned by the belief that the woman who does not do so on earth will be busy after death making up for her faulty behavior.

The beliefs about the dead and the proper behavior to reach heaven are confirmed in the experiences of people who die but come back to life, because it is found out that their time was not yet come. Thus, as to the destiny of the dead, some revived people report having seen the place in hell reserved for the agraristas working the land in Copujo (land belonging to Jarácuaro). Another report mentions having seen in hell people who were

773 still alive in town, and one particular man
775 who had been drowned in the lake was there wrapped in a blanket and dead drunk.

In the experiences of revived people, we also find the theme of coming back to the world in order to correct or help correct bad behavior:

[539] "A woman was dead for three hours. She was ordered to come back to this world in order to go to her son who had abandoned his wife and was living with another woman. She was ordered to tell her son that he should take his wife again and only then would he be forgiven and would he be able to reach purgatory. When the woman saw them living together again, she then died."

In another case the dead person has to come back to life in order to have the mass said which he had promised to Saint Francis.

Besides coming back to life, the dead appear to living persons in dreams or otherwise in order to ask them to correct their bad behavior. In one case a dead man appears to his friend and says:

[539] "Doroteo, Doroteo, don't be afraid. It's me, your friend Refugio. Come with me where I have my money. Hidden as it is, nobody profits from it and God does not want to forgive me because of that money which I have like that and nobody finds it. Come so that you can tell my wife and then you can take as much as you want."

The man (Doroteo) had almost decided to go but suddenly he was scared and ran away.

In another case, a married couple had
[428] adopted a boy. The man had promised to give him the kitchen as inheritance, but when the man died the woman did not give the kitchen to the boy:

[539] "She dreamed of her husband; she dreamed he was in hell and was taken to be burned. He told her it was her fault, that because she didn't give the kitchen to the boy they were taking him to be burned and that she should give it to him. Then an angel came and arranged the whole thing so he didn't go to the burning because he had repented. 'That's what I dreamed,' the woman says, 'and I think it's true.'"

A similar case is that of the dead bandit who had buried his money. His ghost keeps calling people to take the money and have some mass said for him.

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775 An interesting theme is that of the dead
773 who come back to earth in order to return stolen property. The following case is among the most significant, socially speaking, in our collection:

539 "There was a hacienda steward who was very good to the peons. He used to take handfuls of corn to give them, because at that time the people were very poor and he felt sorry for them. When he died he had no sins, so he went right to heaven, because the only sin he had committed was that of giving corn by handfuls to the peons without the permission of his master. God told him that was bad because he gave away the corn without his master's permission, and he would have to go back to earth to account for what he had done.

"So he fell in the center of the hacienda courtyard and he went to his house where he used to live and said, 'My children, here I am come back.' And his wife said, 'O my dear, how right you were to come back; you are the only one I love. Besides, everyone is unhappy around here because now there is nobody to give food to them like you used to do.' But then he said, 'Look here, I came only to attend to this; you should know what happened to me up there in heaven. I came to pay my master back so that God can forgive my sin. This is why I advise you not to do what I used to do but always act like the master tells you. Now I will have to go to the fields to pay my master back.'

"So he went to see his master, and said, 'Look here, sir, I used to take handfuls of corn and beans to give to the peons and this is why I missed heaven. Now you will have to put me to work so I can pay you back. And this is what God sent me to do, to tell you.'

"He was given the oxen and the plow and he spent all his time working. He never went to his home, and he never ate; nobody could see where he was or where he went, and he was always bareheaded. Until at last he fulfilled his debt to his master. Then he went again to his house and said, 'Now my children, I am through with my debts and I can go up again.' He went to a chapel of the Virgin of Guadalupe, and knelt and said, 'My Mother of Guadalupe, I have already paid this debt I owed my master. Let me go to heaven, show me the road, my Mother.' And the roof opened and he rose right to heaven; everybody could see him.

"And this is why they said it is such a great sin to take what does not belong to one."

775 In a similar story, the woman servant who
773 used to cheat her master had to come back and work for him again until she paid

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773 him back. When the master found out what
775 had happened, however, he forgave her before she had redeemed her debt and she was able to go to heaven.

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776 An outline of the nature of the saints
778 and of the main features of their cult has been given before. Most tales about the saints refer to apparitions and miracles.

The saint's image appears to some person who sees, hears, or dreams of it and calls the attention of the people. Often it is a shapeless piece of wood or stone in which someone imagines he sees a saint, usually Christ or a Virgin of Guadalupe. There are a number of such Guadalupes which usually draw only the personal devotion of the discoverer although sometimes more people bring flowers and candles to the stone. The apparitions of some famous saints are told in this same way. The saints, having gained recognition because of some miracle, are taken to the town's church, where later they are shaped into well formed images. Stones are interpreted as Virgins while Christs appear as pieces of wood which bleed when struck by an axe.

776 Saints occasionally wander on earth. The Virgin of Cocucho goes to Ocumicho after Saint Peter. Saint James in Azajo used to leave the church during the Revolution in order to fight. Saint Peter in Jarácuaro left the town when the people were split politically and the church was closed, and experiences are told of how he was seen in the hills or how he was seen on his way to Tarejero where he went.

776 Tales about the activities of the saints
789 refer mostly to their miracles, rewarding the good and punishing the evil. In answer to a vow offered by the devout, the saint can perform a miracle granting what was asked of him. Some of these miracles become elaborate stories like that of the man condemned to death by the agraristas and saved by Saint Peter. Or in the following two stories, saints saved the cargueros who had pledged their souls to the Devil in order to obtain money with which to make the festival:

539 "Once there was a lazy man. He had taken a cargo and the fiesta was coming closer and his wife said to him, 'Our fiesta day is coming and if you don't get busy, with what money are we going to make the fiesta? Well, how are we going to do it then?' 'Well,' he said, 'tomorrow I'll go out and see what I can find.' The

776 and some natural elements also are called demons. As there is only one word (*no-ambákiti*, evil one) both for the Devil and the demons, it is used sometimes as if the Devil were omnipresent, and at other times as if there were many different demons.

776 The Devil inhabits hell under the earth
778 where he rules over the doomed dead. He also attends "ugly" places—woods, caves, ravines, volcanos, the places where the
[772] pre-Christian giants were buried, etc. In these places the Devil appears. It is said that in those places "they frighten", because the appearance of the Devil causes fright. Places where the ancient people became enchanted are called *éncanto* (enchanted place), and this name is used for all places where the Devil appears regularly at a given hour when music is heard or a peculiar-looking animal is seen.

776 The distribution of souls between God and the Devil has been mentioned. As the
775 Devil gets the wicked souls, that is, those who have sinned, his activities are directed
773 towards provoking bad behavior and thus winning souls for himself. The Devil goes after drunkards. Wherever there are drunkards, there is the Devil. He induces people to drink by appearing to them in human form. Or he persecutes drunkards in order to take them to hell with him, or mixes among them in order to make them fight. Similarly the Devil tries to make everyone quarrel and fight. Experiences are told of how one, while drunk, saw the Devil or how an animal (i.e., the Devil) was seen leaving a place where there was a fight.

Another way of getting souls is for the Devil to take the form of a woman and go after men. Many men tell experiences of this type. Going to see a sweetheart during the night, the boy suddenly realizes she has hairy hands or goat's feet, or some other beastly attribute which makes him realize that it is the Devil he is with. Walking in the streets during the night, one sees a pretty woman and follows her, but at a certain movement sees some of her beast-like features. The Devil disguised as a woman tries to take the man out of town and take him to some ravine or cave in the woods which is the way to hell. To women, the Devil appears as a rich man (*catrín*) who marries the girl, which means taking her to hell.

In these experiences of drunkards or lovers, the victim prays when he realizes

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he is with the Devil. The Devil will leave him because of his prayers, or else will be unable to take the man with him because his intended victim has a relic of some saint.

Another way in which the Devil can get hold of a soul is by buying it. A man will pledge his soul (and sometimes also his children's) to the Devil in exchange for some gift, usually wealth or knowledge. This theme is one of the most common in Tarascan folklore (Tarascan, *pijɛakuɨin*, to make a pact with the Devil). Men most commonly sell their souls to the Devil in exchange for money. One meets the Devil, who is well dressed as a city dweller (*catrín*), and he promises to give money in exchange for the man's soul or that of one of his children. On the following night the man receives mules loaded with coins or he is taken to hell where he receives the money. In some cases, the man who has made a pact with
[825] the Devil receives an animal (Tarascan, *japíŋgua*), a sort of snake, which he keeps in a box and which excretes coins. Or else he receives a bull or sheep and then his animals grow very fast.

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This concept, that an animal may be given by the Devil, merges with that of the owner of the animals. Animals, in specific cases cattle and fish, are supposed to have a king or owner and if one gets hold of him, one can get as much of that species as one wants. This owner is also called *japíŋgua*. For some people it has no relation to the Devil. The owner of the fish is bigger than the common fish, swims at the head of the others and has a crown on its head. It can be seen but not caught. For many people, however, this japíŋgua is the Devil, and one can make a pact with him by which in exchange for his soul, the man will be lucky in fishing. Similarly, the japíŋgua of cattle is often spoken of as belonging to a rich man who has made a pact with the Devil.

Marrying a rich man also appears sometimes as a compact with the Devil.

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Other than those of wealth, most pacts with the Devil refer to witchcraft. Witchcraft is learned in this fashion: The novice has to go to a cave (usually taken there by another witch) where he (or more commonly she) has to spit on a Crucifix or perform some other sacrilegious act, finally meeting the Devil, who in exchange for his (her) soul gives the knowledge of witchcraft.

775 776 The evil dead who go to hell (or at least some of them) become devils or devil-like spirits. This is an important concept in Tarascan folklore. We saw, for instance, how those people drowned in lakes or wells go to hell. Places where such accidents have happened are very dangerous because the drowned "pull people in, and cause canoes to capsize so that people drown". In some cases the water spirits died long ago in the past. They are mythical characters, like the three daughters of [773] the king of Tzintzuntzan, who were hidden in order not to see the blessing of the world; or the well spirits in the mountain towns, who discovered the springs but were plunged into the water by the people in the remote past. These spirits are called devils by informants, when asked about spirits' nature, and in some stories their devil-like attributes are clearly seen.

When a man has been murdered, a heap of stones is placed on the spot where the event took place. The stone on top of the head is marked with a cross and is called *krús úmimiri* (Tarascan from Spanish, cross of the soul). Anyone can put this soul to his service by getting hold of the cross. The cross is taken home and the soul haunts the house and scares intruders away. A soul's cross can be prayed to in order to ask the soul for help in getting a relative out of prison, or finding a lost animal.

778 775 The middle finger of a very brave dead man can also be used to put the soul at one's service. The finger placed in front of a door has the virtue to open it, although one has to be brave enough to stand the sight of the dead man who appears on the door sill.

Many beliefs treat of hidden treasures. In one of these it is said that when a person wants to bury money to keep it secure, he kills a man or has one killed by somebody else and buries the dead man with his money. The dead man keeps the money, and frightens anybody who comes along. Only a very brave man could take the money out.

In the case of the soul's cross, the dead man's finger, or the dead man buried with money, it seems clear that we deal with the dead which do not reach their abode and are put to service by someone. In our material, however, this concept is not explicitly given. When asked about the nature of these dead persons, informants

775 tend to identify them with devils or to
778 say that the Devil is behind all that.

Doomed evil souls can be invoked, too, in witchcraft. Thus, those who died in ac-
754 cidents or were murdered are prayed to
775 so that they will kill one's enemy. This takes place at the stone heap or in front of the cross, if it has been taken away. Also, in one formula for divination, the brave spirits are invoked, and two are mentioned in particular, those of Chavez García, a bandit, and Zapata (agrarista leader).

Religious Ideology and Folklore as Expression of the Folk Culture

A. Values Sanctioned in Ideology

128 An outline of Tarascan folklore and main religious concepts has been given in terms of the ideas of good and evil, which seem to pervade the entire body of belief. In order to discuss the social implications of this ideology, we shall sum up what is considered good or evil in all the elements which are mentioned in our collection. We shall do so from the point of view of evil elements since this is the exposition to which our material seems to lend itself more readily.

821 Harmful natural elements are considered bad and are related to the Devil.
776 They either are caused by him or are special manifestations of him. Thus the tornado is a water-snake, a devilish creature in itself. When the Devil wants to take some one away, he does so in this form. Similarly, a whirlwind is a lame devil, his limping explaining his circular motion.

Hail is equally bad and is closely connected with the idols or 'saints' of the heathens. The same association is found in some cases in lightning, although this shares also the good character of rain. The
[823] volcano was made by the Devil, as something bad which only he can do, even if following orders from God. When the volcano is personified, it is the same as the Devil.

183 The material which is of more interest to our subject, however, is not that referring to nature but to social behavior. An account of what is considered bad behavior will show what institutions and what social order are sanctioned by the Tarascan ideology.

For reasons of convenience, we classify the modes of behavior which are considered bad into (*a*) behavior against the mores of the whole population, and (*b*) be-

183 havior against the interests of a certain class or institution.

(*a*) Among the behavior which is considered bad, we find activities which are harmful to the social body in general without regard to special group interests. Thus, drunkenness is incited by the Devil. He leads drunkards to disregard friends and family and to quarrel. The dead as a [775] consequence of drunkenness go to hell. In the same way, fighting is incited by the Devil and both the killed and the killer are doomed.

Behavior against the family and disapproved sex relations loom large under this heading. Rebelliousness against the [773] father (God, in this case) in the creation myths caused the Devil's damnation. Killing the father equally dooms the murderer in one story; and one of the causes for the outbreak of the volcano in Parícutin is said to have been punishment for a patricide which had happened there. Disobedience toward parental authority is also condemned in a prodigal son type of tale.

Deserting one's wife and living with another woman bar entrance into heaven. In a story where a man agrees to lend his wife to a friend, they are taken away by the Devil. Marriage between brother and sister among the mountain spirits occurs in one story, and their son is half snake, proof of his devilish nature. When blessed, they disappear amidst thunder and whirlwinds.

Cain, by killing his brother Abel, caused [773] the flood in one creation story. The *llorona* is the spirit of a woman who killed her son; she is condemned to wander on earth crying for her baby.

Failure to become godparents (*compadres*) according to proper custom is punishable by having to look for the other person after death in order to perform the ceremony. Similar punishment awaits the woman who does not take proper care of her children; she will have to do so after death.

Sex is a powerful bait the Devil uses to trap his victims, although not quite bad in itself. Thus the Devil appears as a seducing woman to draw men into the woods; or when a boy goes to see his sweetheart in the night, the Devil takes her form to catch him. A boy who used love magic powder loses his heart (i. *e.*, soul) to the Devil.

Disobedience to the father, killing the father, deserting the wife and living with

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183 story, communal land is thus defended. The man who sold it against the community's interests is put out of the village and goes to live in the woods where he eats snakes and becomes insane. The rich are defended in the two stories about the dead who have to come back to earth in order to repay their masters. The landowner is clearly supported in one of them: the foreman who gave his master's corn to the peons has to come back to earth and sweat at the plow until he pays his master back. This punishment is intended not only to redeem his sin but also to enable him to tell the people "always to act as the master tells you."

Even poor peasants condemn land distribution as going against this principle, [775] and the agraristas as recipients of that land are doomed to hell; the burning place in hell is ready for them. The Devil wanders freely wherever they prevail. They are to blame for the volcano [823] (Paricutin) in a number of opinions, no matter what is the particular action that brings the whole thing about

(2) Much material deals with the 183 wrongness of anything that is against the Church and organized relation, including 794 both the folk cult and orthodox Catholicism.

Taking cargos is considered necessary to reach heaven: "Vasco de Quiroga instructed us to take cargos in order to reach salvation; it is a work in this world in order to be able to go to heaven." "Cargos are to serve God." In Jarácuaro the cargueros wear a crown during processions and it is said that those who take no cargos have no crown, thereby diminishing their standing before God. In Tzintzuntan it is said that the carguero who does not participate in the Saturday processions has to do so after death.

The financial burden of cargos, discussed before, is reflected in the folk theme of the prospective carguero who sells his soul (or his daughter's) to the Devil in order to get money with which to finance the festival at his charge. In two of three cases [776] with this theme, the saints intervene to rescue the pledged soul.

The priest is considered the representa- [793] tive of God and it is felt that he has to be obeyed.

Failure to fulfill obligations toward God 688 brings punishment. Adam and Eve are 183 condemned to work. The man who refuses to give food to Saint Anthony disguised